

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute workers. 423

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the *Turkestanskije Vedomosti*, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/. [1731]

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 4) koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram, 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig. [805]

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield. 685

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues. 427

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd). 423

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depending on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people. 425
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[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.

133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km. / from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km. / from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km. /, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km. / from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km. / from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the

131 233] two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers, and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km. /."

175 170] It can be seen from this description that at this time the Kirghiz [i. e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[176 cont.]

648 spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

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6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

• [178] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [179] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[182] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[183] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

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²⁴⁹very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[721] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also
[181] very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [743] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[181] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under
[643] him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [167] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his
● [311] subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

221 [312 cont.]

1484 have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II,
page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342 places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the
Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311 establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177 in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of
territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to
consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of
its inhabitants.

253 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been
said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks,
as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
511 present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
181 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures
579 cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into
two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth
and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer,
but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for
the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also
sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
322 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372 provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the
shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the
Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers,
withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people
leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores
of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.

361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their
animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to them-
selves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them
have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion
for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can
see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition,
even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves
with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate
for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
243 on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough
grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which
could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians,
nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans,
nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as
agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange
for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and
which they pay for today with livestock?

175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132 which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312 Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands,
no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the
Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often
discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the
old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which
was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow.
The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points
of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the
Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight
hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely.
Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one
sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large
population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people,
because they move their location all the time, but they are
destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks,
namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

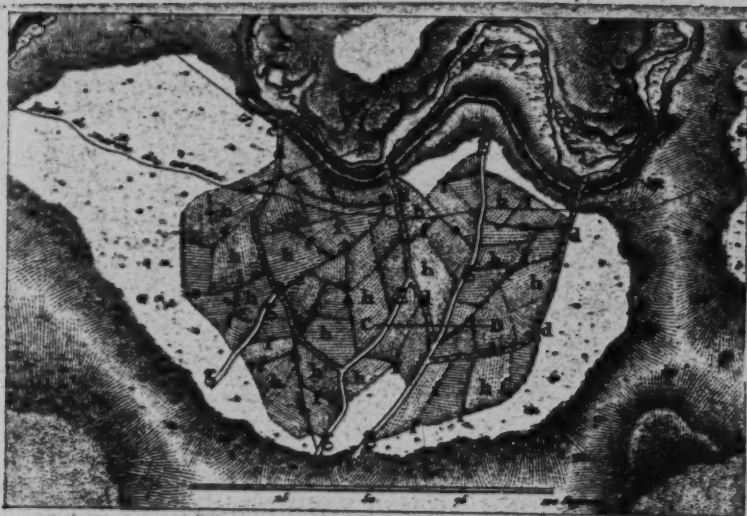
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1. The Russian government has built houses
for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

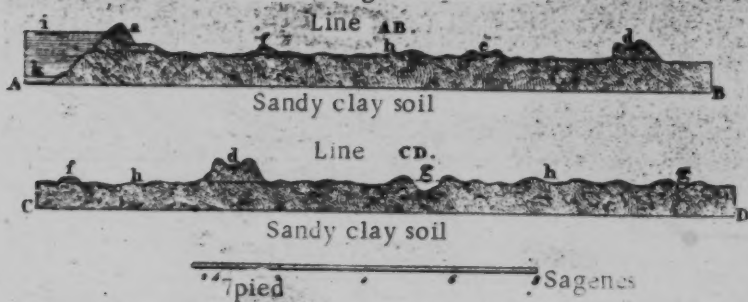
5: Levchine--190 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field



Profile of Irrigation Canals



The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."¹ If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU. 127 248

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began.

Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933. [031]

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "baccchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.² The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas. [311]

¹Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.

²Borodin 1946, pp. 116-135.

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long, running west of Lake Balkhash from Mointy to Chu,¹ and an east-west line, 546 kilometers (350 miles) long, connecting Akmolinsk and Pavlodar.² There are no railroad lines in southwestern Kazakhstan, presumably because the Caspian Sea is a more economical substitute. This solution may prove unworkable for the Soviets if the falling water level of the Caspian continues to isolate the northern and eastern ports from access to the sea.

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Soviet criticism of Tsarist location theory for railroads in Central Asia applies equally to the Soviets themselves.³ These lines are designed to integrate the sources of raw materials in Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, with the manufacturing centers of Russia. They are not primarily designed to aid the local population in meeting internal problems. Moreover, the political ties closely follow the railroad network. Thus the capital of Kazakhstan was established at Kzyl-Orda in 1925 largely because it lay on the old Orenburg-Tashkent line, not because it was a great center of culture. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that the Soviet government, even in the 1920's with its modicum of *laissez faire*, would have supported as capital of the area a potential center of political crystallization. The capital was subsequently moved to Alma-Ata because it was the railhead of the Turksib at the time, and there the capital has remained.

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The trend in the Soviet Union regarding the training of Kazakhs as skilled workers in railroading is parallel to that of the factory systems. The Kazakhs are not being trained in numbers proportionate to their relative strength in the republic. They are being excluded or, alternatively, they are not coming forth to be trained. Of 17 brigades honored for their contributions to the building of the Mointy-Chu line, which runs north-south to the west of Lake Balkhash and along the eastern edge of the Hungry Steppe, only five were led by Turks.⁴ Yet the line runs through country which is marginally suitable for herding, and for little else; it is a region of Kazakhs. On the other hand, for the Akmolinsk-Pavlodar line in the north, which runs through country where the proportion of Kazakh population is relatively low, the recipients of honors bore Slavic (Russian and Ukrainian, one German) names typical of the local populations.⁵

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By way of conclusion, the following may be said of the industry in Kazakhstan: First, the republic is an important producer of raw materials (oil, coal, lignite, copper, lead, meat, wool, cotton, wheat, and tobacco). Second, most of these raw materials flow outside Kazakhstan to industrial centers of the USSR in European Russia and the Urals. (This type of flow—raw materials to manufacturing center, finished goods from center back to source of raw materials—is precisely what Soviet propagandists have always denounced as imperialism.) Third,

¹Kazakhstanskie Prosvy, 27 Oct 53.

²Ibid., 20 Dec 53.

³See unpublished doctoral dissertation by Holland Heister on railroad systems of the Soviet Union (67).

⁴Kazakhstanskie Prosvy, 27 Oct 53.

⁵Ibid., 20 Dec 53.